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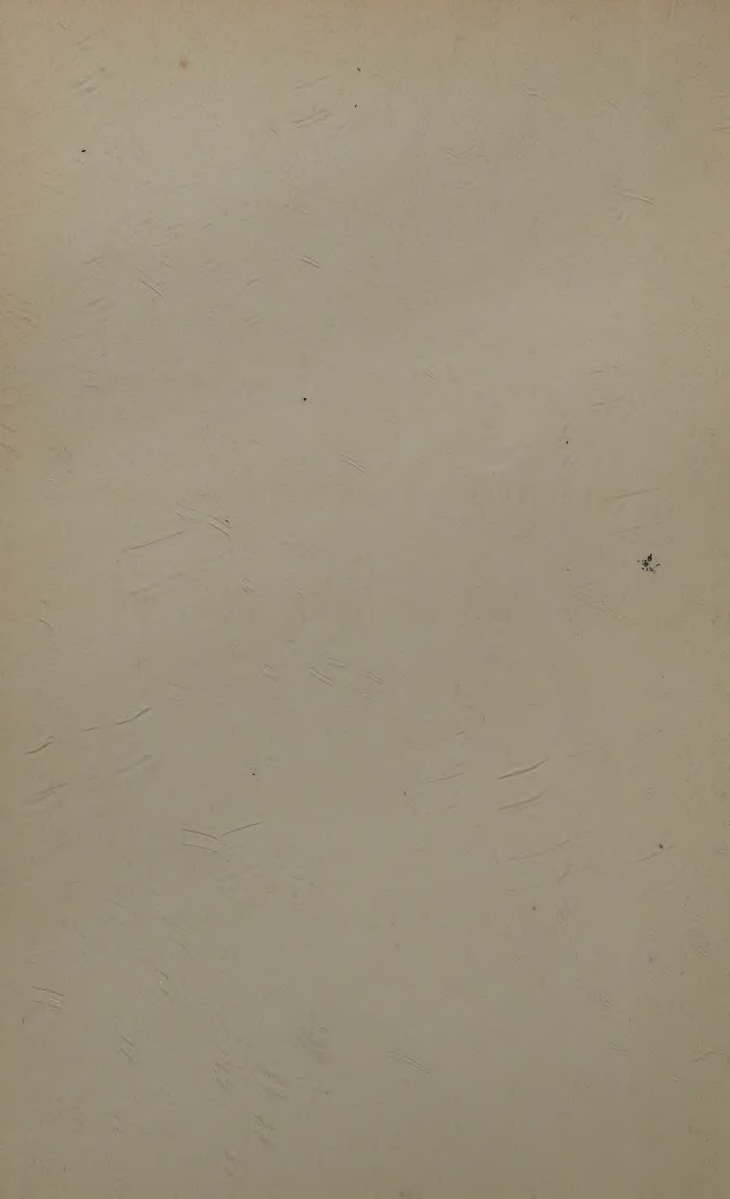
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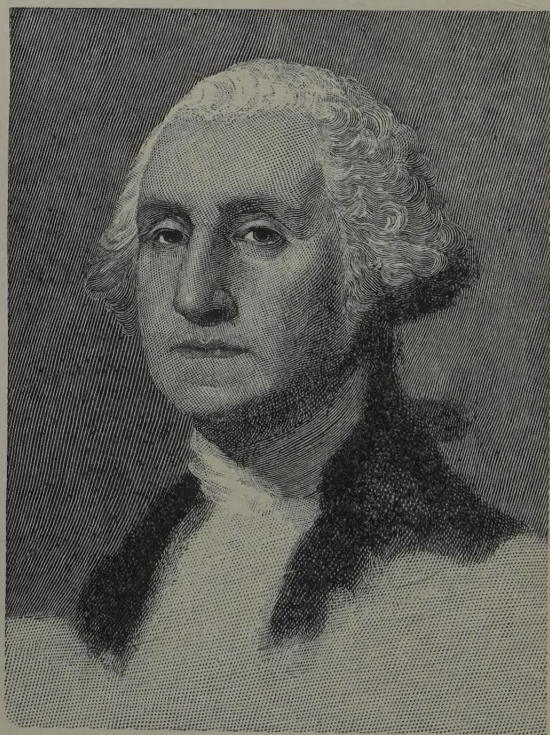
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WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

AND

WEBSTER'S FIRST BUNKER HILL ORATION



George Washington

GEORGE WASHINGTON'S
FAREWELL ADDRESS
TO THE
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

WITH NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY BY

W. D. LEWIS

PRINCIPAL WILLIAM PENN HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS
PHILADELPHIA



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WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS
EC. ENG. CLAS.

W. P. 8

INTRODUCTION

To read the Farewell Address of our first President with due appreciation of its historical significance, it is necessary to be acquainted with the public career of Washington, with the political conditions of his time, and with the course of our national history since his day. A knowledge of Washington's varied public services is desirable, in order that the reader may understand how peculiarly fitted Washington was, by long and ripe experience of men and affairs, to offer the infant nation wise counsel for its future course. Familiarity with the chief events of Washington's administration, as well as with the popular sentiment and political tendencies of the period, sheds light on some passages of the Address which otherwise would be unintelligible. Acquaintance with the subsequent history of our country enables one to note the author's statesmanlike vision and almost prophetic discernment of dangers and tendencies regarding which he warns his fellow-citizens.

Washington began a man's work at the age of sixteen years, by surveying a large tract of forest wilderness in western Virginia, belonging to Lord Fairfax. In 1753 Washington was commissioned by Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, as the bearer of a message through the western forests to a French expedition then advancing southward from Lake Erie to seize the head waters of the Ohio. The French, though warned that they were on English territory, disregarded the message, and a struggle ensued between France and England for the possession of America, a struggle known in our history as the French and Indian War.

In that war Washington, as a loyal British subject, acted a distinguished part, sharing in Braddock's ill-fated expedition, and later in the capture of Fort Duquesne.

The French and Indian War was for Washington a mere apprenticeship for the greater work of the Revolution. The injustice of England's treatment of her colonies was responsible for the fact that Washington, who in 1755 had fought for England against the French, was engaged only a score of years later in fighting against England. When the Revolution came to a head in 1775, only one man was thought of as competent to take command of the American forces, and that man was George Washington.

Of Washington's part in the Revolution, it is almost needless to speak. His rare military ability, his indomitable courage, his unflinching hopefulness, won a deserved triumph when in 1783 England recognized the independence which the colonists had declared in 1776.

At the close of the Revolution Washington retired to his home at Mount Vernon, but was not permitted to remain there long. In 1787 he was induced to act as presiding officer of the Constitutional Convention, and two years later he was called by the unanimous choice of his countrymen to be their first President.

A work of momentous importance awaited the new President. He had to give definite form to the new government; he had to establish precedents; he had to foster, almost to create, a national spirit. His service as President was no less valuable to his country than his military deeds in the Revolution. When his first term of office expired in 1793, he would gladly have returned to private life, but the people with one voice demanded his continuance in office. At the end of his second term as President, Washington withdrew permanently from public life. A few months

previously he uttered wise words of parting counsel in his Farewell Address to the people. Washington died in 1799.

In the Farewell Address, issued in 1796, Washington spoke out of the wisdom gained during this public career of more than forty years. No one acquainted with his life can doubt his unique qualifications to advise his countrymen for the years to come.

A review of the political developments which attended our nation's infancy will enable one to read the Farewell Address with a more intelligent grasp of its meaning.

From 1781 until 1789, the thirteen states were held together by the loose ties of the Articles of Confederation. There was no true national unity. The states viewed each other jealously, and in matters of trade treated each other like foreign nations. The government of the Confederation lacked executive power; the laws passed by Congress were little better than suggestions. During this "critical period of American history" the country as a whole was under a government by advice, rather than a government by control. There was grave question whether, instead of one nation, there might not be several, east of the Mississippi.

The delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1787 had as their avowed object "to form a more perfect union," and a century's trial of the Constitution has shown how well they succeeded. The Constitution guaranteed, so far as a mere document could do so, a truly national government for the United States.

The national unity provided by the Constitution was made a fact by Washington during his administration as President. Washington's policy tended toward the centralization of power in the national government; toward giving the national government, rather than the state governments, supreme control.

It is not strange, then, that in the Farewell Address, Washing-

ton speaks of "a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty," as being indispensable. He emphasizes the supreme value of national unity; it is the first topic after his preliminary remarks, and is treated at length.

Two tendencies were at work during Washington's administration, the centralizing tendency which we have just noted, and an opposite movement toward sharply limiting the powers of the federal government in favor of the rights of the states. These tendencies presently embodied themselves in political parties: the former tendency creating the Federalist party, under the leadership of Washington and Hamilton; the latter giving rise to the Anti-Federalist party, under Jefferson and Madison. The Federalist party believed that the national government might exercise all powers not forbidden in the Constitution; the Anti-Federalists believed that the national government could exercise no powers save those specifically delegated to it in the Constitution.

Unfortunately, the two parties were divided not only on internal matters of interpretation of the Constitution, but also on external matters of policy toward foreign nations. In 1793 war broke out between France and England. France looked to the United States for aid, and sent Citizen Genet to secure it. The Anti-Federalists, or Republicans, were warm supporters of the cause of France, and were aflame with enthusiasm for the new French Republic. When, therefore, in 1793, Washington refused to take sides in the struggle, and issued a proclamation of neutrality, he was accused of base ingratitude toward an old friend and ally.

The suspicion that Washington was too friendly toward England had further grounds two years later, when he approved the Jay Treaty with that country. This treaty seemed to give so much to England and so little to the United States, that there

ensued a tempest of popular indignation and of unseemly denunciation of the President. Washington's theory was that "half a loaf is better than no bread," but the Republicans thought England had taken the whole loaf and thrown us the crust. So violent were the attacks made on the President that he declared "he would rather be in the grave than in the presidency." "Such exaggerated and indecent terms," said he, "could scarcely be applied to a Nero, a notorious defaulter, or even to a common pickpocket."

This storm of popular disapproval passed away before Washington had served out his second term. He might have received the office a third time had he desired it. Despite the fact, however, that he regained the confidence of the people, the evils of party feeling had made a deep impression on his mind.

In view of the things just mentioned, we can understand with what earnestness Washington warned the people "against the baneful effects of the spirit of party"; with what conviction he urged the exclusion of "permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachment for others." A considerable part of the Farewell Address is occupied by a discussion of the evils of such favoritism in international affairs.

The Farewell Address, in the light of our subsequent history, shows its author to have been gifted with a political sagacity that was almost prophetic. With rare insight into the future, he traces the tendencies of his day to their logical results.

The wisdom of Washington's course in preserving neutrality during the war between France and England, lends weight to his counsel to avoid entanglement in European affairs. For a century the United States has found it a "true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world."

Washington's conviction of the importance of popular educa-

tion was far more intense than his brief reference to the subject would indicate. If public opinion is to control the government, he reasons, that opinion must be enlightened. "Promote, then," he urges his countrymen, "as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge." The agreement of posterity with Washington in his estimate of popular education is proved by our magnificent system of public schools.

At various times in our history single states have defied the national government. In 1798 and 1799 Kentucky passed resolutions virtually refusing to obey the Alien and Sedition Laws. In 1832 South Carolina passed an ordinance of nullification, declaring that the tariff law of the United States should not be effective in South Carolina. Such dangerous measures Washington seemed to forestall in his Farewell Address. He struck the keynote of union which Webster sounded with so much effect a third of a century later. Another third of a century, and the same note rang out in the inaugural address of Abraham Lincoln, calling the Northern states to a successful combat with secession.

Not the least significant part of the Address is what Washington has to say on the baneful effects of sectionalism. He seeks to show how indispensable each section of the country is to every other section; how necessary is the Union to all. The sectional spirit has been conspicuous in our history. The New England states opposed the War of 1812, and in 1861 the Southern states, led by South Carolina, attempted to found a new nation upon the basis of common sectional interests. A generation had to elapse after the Civil War before the bitterness of sectional feeling between the North and the South disappeared. Experience has justified Washington's abhorrence of sectionalism; now, happily, a spirit of the past.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

1. The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant,¹ and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

2. I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

3. The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that

¹ The Farewell Address was issued September 19, 1796, about two months before the presidential election.

retirement¹ from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations,² and the unanimous advice of persons³ entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion.⁴ In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that, if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

¹ His home at Mt. Vernon. Before starting for the capital at New York to assume the office of President, Washington wrote to a friend: "In confidence I tell you that my movements to the chair of government will be accompanied by feelings not unlike those of a culprit who is going to the place of execution."

² In 1792 our relations with England and Spain were far from cordial. France was convulsed with civil strife, culminating in 1793 in a war with England which almost drew us into the conflict.

³ Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, and Randolph.

⁴ In his inaugural address to Congress, April 30, 1789.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances¹ in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing,² as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.³

¹ Referring, probably, to some of the critical times of the Revolution; or, possibly, of his term as President.

² *I. e.*, liberty.

³ Note the adoption of this form of government by various nations during the last century.

¶ Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.¹

¶ Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

¶ The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so: for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of

¹ On June 8, 1783, Washington wrote a farewell letter to the Governors of all the states, requesting that it be communicated to the various legislatures. On November 2, 1783, he issued his farewell address to the army. The reference is probably to the former paper.

the palladium¹ of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence² and liberty² you possess are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds, in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufactur-

¹ Safeguard. The famous Palladium of antiquity was a statue of Pallas Athene, goddess of wisdom, which was reputed to have been dropped from heaven by Zeus. It was kept at Troy, in the belief that the safety of the city depended on the preservation of the statue.

² Independence belongs to a nation that is free to govern itself. Liberty belongs to individuals who are free to enjoy their natural rights. Before the Declaration of Independence was issued the colonists were struggling for their liberty as British subjects; afterward they were struggling for national independence.

ing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water,¹ will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and, what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power,² must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from

¹ The construction of the National Road, a highway connecting the Ohio river with the Potomac, was begun in 1811. The Erie canal, connecting the Great Lakes with the Hudson river, was completed in 1825.

² In 1785 John Jay, then secretary for foreign affairs of the Confederation, favored making a commercial treaty with Spain, in return for which Spain should be free to close the lower course of the Mississippi to navigation for twenty-five years. The states west of the Alleghanies were so indignant at this proposal that they threatened to make an alliance with Great Britain in order to secure the right of navigating the Mississippi.

union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same governments, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments,¹ which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

¹⁴These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the UNION as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

¹⁵In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations, Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You

¹ Compare present conditions in England, France, and Germany.

cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain,¹ and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general Government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain,² and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the UNION by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?³

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your

¹ Treaty with Spain, in 1795. One of the articles of the treaty secured to our settlers in the West freedom to navigate the Mississippi. Since Spain then owned the land on both sides of the Mississippi near the mouth of the river, she had control of all navigation bound for the Gulf of Mexico, and had previously refused to allow our vessels to pass down the river.

² Treaty with Great Britain—the Jay Treaty of 1795. One of its conditions was the surrender by the British of several western forts which they had held since the Revolution.

³ See note 2, page 16.

former¹ for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment,² has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws,³ all combinations and associations,⁴ under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put, in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common counsels, and modified by mutual interests.

¹ The Articles of Confederation, adopted in 1781. See Introduction.

² Constitution of the United States, Article V.

³ Washington may have had in mind the Whisky Rebellion in Pennsylvania in 1794.

⁴ During Washington's administration numerous "democratic societies" stirred up the people against the powers of the government.

However combinations or associations of the above descriptions may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines,¹ by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that, for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor² as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprise of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

¹ Instruments. Compare the modern phrase, the "political machine."

² For Washington's desire to strengthen the national government, see Introduction.

20 I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, 5 generally.⁴

21 This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular 10 form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

22 The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid 15 enormities,¹ is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual,² 20 and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

23 Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common 25

¹ For example, Marius and Sulla, leaders of rival factions at Rome, made wholesale slaughter of each other's adherents. During the Reign of Terror in France, only three years before the Farewell Address was written, the Revolutionists put hundreds of thousands to death.

² Thus, after years of struggle between various Roman parties, Julius Cæsar made himself perpetual dictator, or ruler, of Rome. After the Civil War in England in 1642-1649, between the Royalist supporters of Charles I and the Puritans who opposed him, Oliver Cromwell became sole master of England. Similarly, although not a matter of history when the Farewell Address was issued, Napoleon succeeded after the French Revolution in securing absolute control of France.

and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion, that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution, in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal

checks¹ in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories,¹ and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some² of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for, though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, Where is the security

¹ Our government has three branches: legislative, executive, and judicial. The executive power is vested in the President, who can check the action of Congress by vetoing its acts. On the other hand, Congress, the legislative branch, can by a two-thirds majority pass acts over the President's veto; can impeach the President for improper conduct; and the Senate can refuse to ratify his appointments, or treaties with foreign nations. The judicial power is vested chiefly in the Supreme Court, which has the right to decide as to the constitutionality of any law passed by Congress.

² As an instance in our own country may be cited the cause of Bacon's rebellion in Virginia in 1676. This uprising of the Virginia colonists against the royal governor, Berkeley, was due to Berkeley's usurpation of their rights and his refusal to call together the colonial assembly, the House of Burgesses.

An experiment under the very eyes of Washington and his contemporaries was the failure of the Articles of Confederation, due to the imperfect division of power between the federal and the state governments.

for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts¹ which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should coöperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be

¹ Through the foresight and wise financial policy of Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, the new government had from the very beginning begun to pay the debts incurred on account of the Revolution.

devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties), ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction¹ of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

21 Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

32 In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies² against particular nations, and passionate attachments² for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage,³ and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental

¹ Interpretation.

² For an explanation of the national antipathy against England, and the "passionate attachment" for France, see the Introduction.

³ Offense.

or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions: by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation), facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding,¹ with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base of foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils!

¹ Note carefully the grammatical object of "gilding."

Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

37 Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens), the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove that 57 foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government.¹ But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom 18 they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests. 15

38 The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already 20 formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

39 Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to 25 implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes

¹ As an example from history, when Athens was seeking, after the expulsion of the tyrant Hippias, to establish a democracy, Sparta exerted an influence hostile to this purpose, even taking up arms to oppose it. As a matter of experience, the dangers of the recent French influence were still in Washington's mind.

In the thirteenth century the city of Florence, in Italy, which had a republican form of government, was torn by strife between two factions, known as Guelfs and Ghibellines. The Ghibellines, being unsuccessful, appealed for aid to Manfred, King of Naples and Sicily. Acting with the Ghibellines, Manfred conquered the city in 1260, drove out the Guelfs, broke down popular government, and for a time ruled the city.

of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation;¹ when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand: neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establish-

¹ Compare our present naval program.

ing,¹ with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that, by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion, which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relating to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclama-

¹ Note the grammatical object of "establishing."

tion¹ of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or
5 divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it,
10 I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so
5 far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers,² has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to main-
10 tain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech

¹ See Introduction, page 8.

² France had been fighting against a coalition of the European nations, including England, Holland, Spain, Austria, and Prussia.

the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope, that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years¹ of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

51 Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations,² I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government, the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

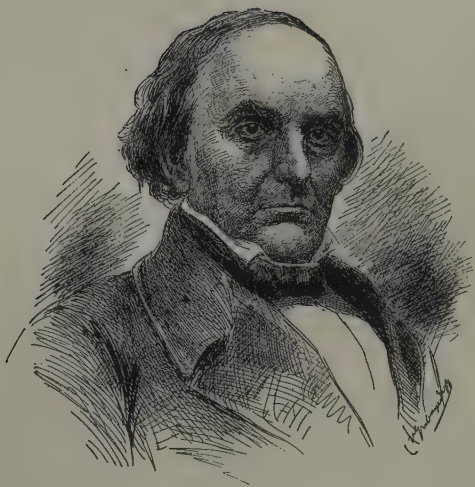
GEORGE WASHINGTON.

United States, September 17th, 1796.

¹ In 1751 Washington had been appointed adjutant-general of the Virginia militia, to guard the frontier against attack by Indians.

² John Washington came to America from England about 1657. George Washington was his great-grandson.

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the first part
of the
points.*



David Webster

DANIEL WEBSTER'S

FIRST BUNKER HILL ORATION

WITH NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY BY

W. D. LEWIS

PRINCIPAL WILLIAM PENN HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS
PHILADELPHIA



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INTRODUCTION.

IT is a fact worthy of notice that, among all the masters of eloquence known to history, only four have produced works which have been generally recognized as contributions to the permanent literature of the world. These were Demosthenes in ancient Athens, Cicero in old Rome, Edmund Burke in Great Britain, and Daniel Webster in America. A comparison of the public discourses of these four great orators reveals, of course, many differences resulting from the diversity of race, time, circumstance, and the character of the audiences to whom they were addressed. A closer examination, however, will disclose numerous similarities in their fundamental construction, going far to show that the principles of true eloquence are always and everywhere the same, and that the art which swayed the minds of multitudes of men twenty centuries ago remains in essential points as unchanged as human thought itself. Between the orations of Demosthenes, so distinctively ancient and Grecian, and those of Webster, so distinctively modern and American, one may detect a striking resemblance. Both are characterized by the same sustained appeal to the understanding and by the same clear-cut, vigorous, and perfectly intelligible course of reasoning. In their unadorned simplicity each is the work of a sculptor rather than painter. "To test Webster's oratory, which

has ever been very attractive to me," said the late Dr. Francis Lieber, "I read a portion of my favorite speeches of Demosthenes, and then read, always aloud, parts of Webster; then returned to the Athenian: and Webster stood the test." This resemblance was not the result of any study of ancient models on Mr. Webster's part, nor of any conscious or unconscious effort to imitate the masterpieces of Athenian eloquence. It was due rather to a similarity of intellectual powers wholly independent of time, or race, or other environment.

The quality of Webster's imagination, which was of an historical rather than poetic cast, had much to do with the power and peculiar charm of his oratory. But it was his simplicity of diction, and his perfect mastery of pure, idiomatic English, which gave to his discourses their distinctive classic elegance, and made them worthy of a permanent place in our literature. As specimens, therefore, of a correct, clear, and vigorous style of composition, full of warmth and vitality, these orations are worthy of the most careful attention of every one who would perfect himself in the use of the English tongue; as notable examples of persuasive discourse, logical, forcible, and convincing, they especially commend themselves to those who aspire to distinction as public speakers; as containing lessons of the purest and most disinterested patriotism, they appeal to Americans everywhere, and should be read and studied by every American youth.

Daniel Webster was born in Salisbury (now Franklin), N.H., Jan. 18, 1782. His father, who was a farmer, had served as a soldier in both the French and Indian and the Revolutionary Wars, and later became a member of the State Legislature, and judge of the county court. Being brought up in poverty, in a region at that time the very outskirts of civiliza-

tion, the boy had none of the opportunities which are now supposed to be indispensable to the making of a great man. His mother taught him to read, and as the schools which he attended during his childhood were extremely inefficient, it is probable that the best part of his early education was acquired at home. Being a delicate child, he was generally exempt from the hard tasks required of other boys in his condition of life, and, while much of his time was devoted to play, he developed a passionate eagerness for books. "I read what I could get to read," he says, "went to school when I could, and when not at school was a farmer's youngest boy, not good for much, for want of health and strength, but expected to do something. In those boyish days there were two things which I did dearly love,—reading and playing, passions which did not cease to struggle when boyhood was over, (have they yet altogether?) and in regard to which neither *cita mors* nor the *victoria laeta* could be said of either."

When fourteen years of age, he was sent to the Phillips Exeter Academy. There he made his first acquaintance with the world, suffering much from the ridicule of his schoolmates, to whom his rustic clothes and uncouth manners were a source of great merriment. Although he made rapid progress in his studies, his lack of self-confidence was such, that he found it impossible to stand up and "speak a piece" before the school. At the end of nine months it was thought best that he should return home; and his father made arrangements whereby he should continue his studies under the tuition of a clergyman, the Rev. Samuel Wood, at Boscawen. This change was made in order that the lad might the more quickly complete his preparation for college; for, notwithstanding the poverty of the family, his father had decided to give him as thorough an education as was then available. He

remained with Dr. Wood only six months, and in August, 1797, contrived to enter Dartmouth College, from which he was duly graduated in 1801. The college was at that time scarcely equal in efficiency to any well-equipped high school of the present day; and Webster's scholarship was neither extensive nor profound. He read everything that came to hand, and whatever was worthy of remembrance he never forgot. He acquired a fair knowledge of Latin literature, and gained a smattering of Greek and mathematics. He was not only considered the best general scholar in the college, but he was looked upon by both the faculty and the students as a remarkable man with an extraordinary career before him. He soon overcame the boyish timidity which had been so much in his way at Exeter, and developed an especial inclination for public speaking. Indeed, the fame of his eloquence extended beyond the college walls; and in 1800 he was invited by the townspeople of Hanover to deliver the Fourth-of-July oration in their village. He had not then completed his eighteenth year; yet in that youthful speech, his first public utterance on questions of national import, there was a distinct foreshadowing of the enduring work which he was afterwards to perform for his countrymen and the world. It was, of course, crude and imitative, as would be expected of a boy; its language was florid in the extreme, and its general style was that of the "spread eagle," full of bombast and figures of rhetoric; but in its thought and leading purpose there breathed the same manly, patriotic spirit that runs through all his maturer utterances, and distinguishes them from the commonplace oratory of political demagogues.

Immediately after leaving college, Mr. Webster began the study of law in the office of Thomas W. Thompson of Salisbury; but, wishing to earn money to help his elder brother

Ezekiel to go through college, he soon afterwards went to Fryeburg, Me., and took charge of a small academy there. In the following year he returned to Salisbury, and remained with Mr. Thompson until 1804; then, desiring better opportunities for extending his legal knowledge, he went to Boston, where he entered the office of Christopher Gore, and where, in 1805, he was admitted to the bar. He began practicing in Boscawen; and in 1807, having built up a fairly good business there, he turned it over to his brother Ezekiel, and removed to Portsmouth, then the capital of the State. Being now fairly established in his profession, he was married in 1808 to Grace Fletcher of Hopkinton. He soon distinguished himself as the foremost lawyer in the State, and attracted much attention by his eloquent utterances in opposing the declaration of war against Great Britain. In 1812 he was elected to Congress by the Federalists, and on taking his seat was placed on the Committee on Foreign Affairs. The first public act which brought him into prominence as a member of Congress was his introduction of a series of resolutions calling for an inquiry concerning the announcement to the United States of the revocation of Napoleon's decrees against American shipping. This was followed a few months later by his first great speech in the House,—a speech in opposition to a bill for the encouragement of enlistments. In 1814 he was reëlected to Congress; and in 1816, at the expiration of his second term, he removed to Boston, where for seven years he devoted himself exclusively to the practice of his profession. In 1818, by his management of the celebrated Dartmouth College case, he achieved a success which not only placed him at the head of the American bar, but gave him great prominence as an able exponent and uncompromising defender of the Federal Con-

stitution. The Legislature of New Hampshire had passed an act virtually abrogating the original charter of the college, and providing for the appointment of a new board of trustees. The old board contested the legality of this act; and a suit against the new board, in action of trover for the college seal, was carried to the Superior Court of the State, where it was decided in favor of the defendants. Thereupon the case was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, where, through Mr. Webster's management, the judgment of the State court was reversed, and the act of the State Legislature was declared to be a violation of that clause of the Federal Constitution which prohibits the States from passing laws in impairment of contracts. The decision was of national importance, since it "went further, perhaps, than any other in our history towards limiting State sovereignty, and extending the jurisdiction of the Federal Supreme Court."

On Dec. 22, 1820, the two hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, Mr. Webster delivered his famous discourse on the "First Settlement of New England,"—the first of those great efforts which placed him among the foremost orators of the world. In 1822 he was again elected a representative to Congress, this time from Boston; and in 1824 and 1826 he was reëlected. In 1827 he resigned his membership in the House to accept a seat in the Senate, where he remained, by successive reëlections, until 1841. His oration on the laying of the corner stone of Bunker Hill Monument, in 1825, and that on Adams and Jefferson (1826); are among the noblest historical addresses ever delivered. "The spirit of these orations is that of the broadest patriotism enlightened by a clear perception of the fundamental importance of the Federal union between the States, and an ever-present consciousness of the mighty future of our

country, and its moral significance in the history of the world." In the Bunker Hill oration he appeared at his best. His style had been perfected, and he "touched his highest point in the difficult task of commemorative oratory." Eighteen years later, upon the completion of the monument, he was called upon to deliver a second address at the same place and upon the same theme. This later effort, although it failed to attain to the massive dignity and grandeur of the first, must always be regarded as one of the finest examples of patriotic oratory to which Americans have ever listened.

From the beginning of his career in the United States Senate, Mr. Webster was naturally recognized as one of the most influential men in the nation, and, had he been more distinctively a partisan, it is not improbable that he would eventually have occupied the President's chair. But his patriotism was superior to personal ambition; and his powers as a statesman and orator, instead of being directed to the aggrandizement of the party with which he was affiliated, were devoted to the defense of the Constitution and the preservation of the Union. In 1830 he delivered his celebrated second speech on Foote's resolution, generally known as the "Reply to Hayne," in which he reached the culmination of his career as an orator. It was delivered in refutation of a speech by Mr. Hayne accusing the New-England States of attempting to aggrandize themselves at the expense of all the rest of the Union, and defending South Carolina in her proposed policy of nullification. Although Mr. Webster's fame extended in the years which followed, and he made many other speeches, he never again attained to so high a point as in that remarkable and memorable discourse. It was a speech for which, as he himself said, his whole life had been in a certain

sense a preparation. Of all the speeches ever made in Congress there has probably never been another that has been so widely read, or has had so great influence in the shaping of men's thoughts. In 1841 Mr. Webster was appointed Secretary of State by President Harrison, and upon the death of the latter he was continued in office by President Tyler until after the completion of the famous Ashburton Treaty with Great Britain, in 1842. He then returned to the practice of law in Boston; but in 1844 he was again appointed to the Senate, where he distinguished himself by opposing the admission of Texas as a slave State, and strenuously combating the prosecution of the Mexican War. In 1848 and again in 1852 he was a candidate before the national convention of Whigs for the nomination to the Presidency, but was defeated in the first case by General Taylor and in the second by General Scott. In 1850, led by a zealous desire to promote peace between the opposing political factions, he was induced to give his adhesion to Clay's "compromise measures," and on the 7th of March delivered his last great speech,—a speech in which he favored the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, and opposed the Wilmot Proviso for the exclusion of slavery from the new Territories thereafter acquired by the United States. This speech was a great disappointment to his friends, and lost him the support and confidence of the Whig party. In the latter part of the same year, however, he was appointed Secretary of State by President Fillmore. This position he held until May, 1852, when he resigned on account of ill health, and retired to his home at Marshfield, Mass., where he died on the 24th of October in the same year.

In the great influence which Mr. Webster, as a public speaker, wielded over the minds of his hearers, he was aided by his re-

markable physical attributes. He possessed in a wonderful degree an indefinable personal magnetism which impressed every one with a sense of his greatness. His face, his eyes, his voice, were such that whoever looked upon him and heard him speak, felt intuitively that he was a man of most extraordinary powers. Sydney Smith, when he saw him, exclaimed, "Good heavens! he is a small cathedral by himself;" and Carlyle, writing of him, said, "He is a magnificent specimen. As a logic fencer or parliamentary Hercules, one would incline to back him at first sight against all the extant world. The tanned complexion; the amorphous crag-like face; the dull black eyes under the precipice of brows, like dull anthracite furnaces needing only to be blown; the mastiff mouth accurately closed,—I have not traced so much of *silent Berserker rage* that I remember of in any man."

Of the quality of Webster's oratory, the Hon. Rufus Choate says, "His multiform eloquence became at once so much accession to permanent literature, in the strictest sense solid, attractive, and rich. Recall what pervaded all these forms of display, and every effort in every form: that union of naked intellect, in its largest measure, which penetrates to the exact truth of the matter in hand by intuition or by inference, and discerns everything which may make it intelligible, probable, and credible to another, with an emotional and moral nature profound, passionate, and ready to kindle, and with imagination enough to supply a hundredfold more of illustration and aggrandizement than his taste suffered him to accept; that union of greatness of soul with depth of heart which made his speaking almost more an exhibition of character than of mere genius; the style not merely pure, clear Saxon, but so constructed, so numerous as far as becomes prose, so forcible, so abounding in unlabored felicities, the words

so choice, the epithet so pictured, the matter absolute truth, or the most exact and spacious resemblance the human wit can devise; the treatment of the subject, if you have regard to the kind of truth he had to handle,—political, ethical, legal,—as deep as Paley's, or Locke's, or Butler's, . . . yet that depth and that completeness of sense made transparent as crystal waters, raised on winged language, vivified, fused, and poured along in a tide of emotion fervid, and incapable to be withstood."

The history of Bunker Hill Monument and of the circumstances attending the delivery of Webster's famous orations—the one at the laying of its corner stone, the other at its completion—may be briefly narrated.

Gen. Joseph Warren, the hero of the battle of Bunker Hill, and the first prominent martyr of the Revolutionary War, was buried upon the hill on the day following the action, June 18, 1775. Early in the following year the Massachusetts Lodge of Masons, of which he had been the presiding officer, applied to the Provisional Government of the Colony for permission to take up his remains, and inter them with the usual ceremonies and solemnities of the order. The request was granted, on condition that nothing should be done that would prevent the government from erecting at some future time a monument to his memory. This may be regarded as the first movement made towards commemorating in any way the historic struggle on Bunker Hill; and yet, although a funeral procession was formed, and a fitting eulogy on Gen. Warren was delivered, no measures were taken towards the building of a monument.

On the 8th of April, 1777, however, a resolution was adopted by the Continental Congress, directing that monuments should be erected to Gen. Warren in Boston and to Gen. Mercer at Fred-

ericksburg; but no steps were ever taken towards the carrying out of this resolution.

In 1794 the lodge of Masons at Charlestown decided to erect a monument to Gen. Warren at their own expense. Land for that purpose was donated to the lodge by the Hon. James Russell of Charlestown, and the monument was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies on the 2d of December of the same year. This monument was a wooden pillar, eighteen feet in height, raised on a pedestal eight feet square, at an elevation of ten feet from the ground. On the summit of the pillar was a gilt urn, and on the south side of the pedestal an appropriate inscription was engraved.

It was not until still thirty years later that any decisive steps were taken towards the building of a monument which should commemorate in a general way the battle of Bunker Hill, and should stand as the nation's expression of honor and gratitude to those who fell there in the defense of American liberty. In 1824 an association was formed, under the leadership of William Tudor, Esq., to whose enthusiasm and perseverance the final success of the undertaking was largely due. After various private conferences among those who were most deeply interested in the project, it was decided to lay the corner stone of the monument on the 17th of June, 1825, the fiftieth anniversary of the battle; and, in order to excite enthusiasm in favor of the work, Gen. Lafayette, at that time the nation's guest, was invited to be present, and participate in the ceremonies. Free transportation was offered to all surviving soldiers of the Revolution, and every effort was made to enlist a national interest in the patriotic occasion.

"The celebration," says Mr. Frothingham, "was unequaled in magnificence by anything of the kind that had been seen in

New England. The morning proved propitious. The air was cool, the sky was clear, and timely showers the previous day had brightened the vesture of Nature into its loveliest hue. Delighted thousands flocked into Boston to bear a part in the proceedings, or to witness the spectacle. At about ten o'clock a procession moved from the State House towards Bunker Hill. The military, in their fine uniforms, formed the van. About two hundred veterans of the Revolution, of whom forty were survivors of the battle, rode in barouches next to the escort. These venerable men, the relics of a past generation, with emaciated frames, tottering limbs, and trembling voices, constituted a touching spectacle. Some wore, as honorable decorations, their old fighting equipments; and some bore the scars of still more honorable wounds. Glistening eyes constituted their answer to the enthusiastic cheers of the grateful multitudes who lined their pathway, and cheered their progress. To this patriot band succeeded the Bunker Hill Monument Association; then the Masonic fraternity, in their splendid regalia, thousands in number; then Lafayette, continually welcomed by tokens of love and gratitude, and the invited guests; then a long array of societies, with their various badges and banners. It was a splendid procession, and of such length that the front nearly reached Charlestown Bridge ere the rear had left Boston Common. It proceeded to Breed's Hill, where the Grand Master of the Freemasons, the President of the Monument Association, and Gen. Lafayette performed the ceremony of laying the corner stone in the presence of a vast concourse of people." The procession then moved to the northern declivity of the hill, where Mr. Webster delivered his oration to a large and appreciative audience.

When the corner stone of the Bunker Hill Monument was thus

laid in 1825, no definite plan for its construction had been decided upon. Among other designs for the proposed monument, one submitted by Solomon Willard, an architect of Boston, was finally adopted; and in 1827 the foundation was laid and the work of construction begun. The funds on hand, amounting to about \$55,000, were soon exhausted, however, and in the following year the work was temporarily abandoned. In 1834 a renewed effort was made, a considerable amount of money was raised by subscription, and the building of the great stone shaft was renewed. But the committee having the affair in charge soon found itself without further available means, and progress was again suspended. In 1840 the ladies of Boston and the vicinity took hold of the enterprise. A fair was held in Faneuil Hall, to which every woman in the United States had been invited to contribute, and every effort was made to increase the list of subscriptions. The result was, that a contract was soon afterwards entered into with Mr. Savage of Boston, to finish the monument for \$43,000. The work was pushed forward with all reasonable dispatch, and the last stone was raised to the apex at six o'clock in the morning of July 23, 1842.

The monument, which is in the form of an obelisk, is built of Quincy granite, is thirty feet in diameter at the base, and about fifteen feet at the top of the truncated part. It consists of ninety courses of stone, six of them below the ground, and eighty-four above. It was intended that it should be two hundred and twenty feet high; but the precise height is two hundred and twenty-one feet. The observatory at the top is seventeen feet high, and eleven feet in diameter. The cap stone, or apex, is a single stone four feet square at the base, and three feet six inches in height, weighing two tons and a half.

It was arranged by the directors that the completion of the work should be celebrated on the 17th of the following June, the sixty-eighth anniversary of the battle; and Mr. Webster was invited to deliver the oration. "Many circumstances," says Edward Everett, "conspired to increase the interest of the occasion. . . . The President of the United States and his Cabinet had accepted invitations to be present; delegations of the descendants of New England were present from the remotest parts of the Union; one hundred and eight surviving veterans of the Revolution, among whom were some who were in the battle of Bunker Hill, imparted a touching interest to the scene. . . . Mr. Webster was stationed upon an elevated platform in front of the audience and of the monument towering in the background. According to Mr. Frothingham's estimate, a hundred thousand persons were gathered about the spot, and nearly half that number are supposed to have been within the reach of the orator's voice. The ground rises slightly between the platform and the Monument Square, so that the whole of this immense concourse—compactly crowded together, breathless with attention, swayed by one sentiment of admiration and delight—was within the full view of the speaker. The position and the occasion were the height of the moral sublime."

THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE LAYING OF THE CORNER
STONE OF THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT AT
CHARLESTOWN, MASS., ON THE 17TH
OF JUNE, 1825.

THIS uncounted multitude before me and around me proves the feeling which the occasion has excited. These thousands of human faces, glowing with sympathy and joy, and from the impulses of a common gratitude turned reverently to heaven in this spacious temple of the firmament, proclaim that the day, the place, and the purpose of our assembling, have made a deep impression on our hearts.

If, indeed, there be anything in local association fit to affect the mind of man, we need not strive to repress the emotions which agitate us here. We are among the sepulchres of our fathers. We are on ground distinguished by their valor, their constancy, and the shedding of their blood. We are here, not to fix an uncertain date in our annals, nor to draw into notice an obscure and unknown spot. If our humble purpose had never been conceived, if we ourselves had never been born, the 17th of June, 1775, would have been a day on which all subsequent history would have poured its light, and the eminence where we stand, a point of attraction to the eyes of successive generations. But we are Americans. We live in what may be called the "early age" of this great continent; and we know that our posterity, through all time, are here to enjoy and suffer the allotments of

humanity. We see before us a probable train of great events; we know that our own fortunes have been happily cast; and it is natural, therefore, that we should be moved by the contemplation of occurrences which have guided our destiny before many of us were born, and settled the condition in which we should pass that portion of our existence which God allows to men on earth.

3 We do not read even of the discovery of this continent without feeling something of a personal interest in the event, without being reminded how much it has affected our own fortunes and our own existence. It would be still more unnatural for us, therefore, than for others, to contemplate with unaffected minds that interesting, I may say that most touching and pathetic scene, when the great discoverer of America stood on the deck of his shattered bark, the shades of night falling on the sea, yet no man sleeping; tossed on the billows of an unknown ocean, yet the stronger billows of alternate hope and despair tossing his own troubled thoughts; extending forward his harassed frame, straining westward his anxious and eager eyes, till Heaven at last granted him a moment of rapture and ecstasy, in blessing his vision with the sight of the unknown world.

4 Nearer to our times, more closely connected with our fates, and therefore still more interesting to our feelings and affections, is the settlement of our own country by colonists from England. 5 We cherish every memorial of these worthy ancestors; we celebrate their patience and fortitude; we admire their daring enterprise; we teach our children to venerate their piety; and we are justly proud of being descended from men who have set the world an example of founding civil institutions on the great and united principles of human freedom and human knowledge. To us their children, the story of their labors and sufferings can never be without its interest. We shall not stand unmoved on the shores of Plymouth while the sea continues to wash it; nor will our brethren in another early and ancient Colony forget the place of its first establishment till their river shall cease to flow

by it.¹ No vigor of youth, no maturity of manhood, will lead the nation to forget the spots where its infancy was cradled and defended.

5 But the great event in the history of the continent, which we are now met here to commemorate, that prodigy of modern times, at once the wonder and the blessing of the world, is the American Revolution. In a day of extraordinary prosperity and happiness, of high national honor, distinction, and power, we are brought together in this place by our love of country, by our admiration of exalted character, by our gratitude for signal services and patriotic devotion.

6 The Society whose organ I am² was formed for the purpose of rearing some honorable and durable monument to the memory of the early friends of American independence. They have thought that for this object no time could be more propitious than the present prosperous and peaceful period, that no place could claim preference over this memorable spot, and that no day could be more auspicious to the undertaking than the anniversary of the battle which was here fought. The foundation of that monument we have now laid. With solemnities³ suited to the occasion, with prayers to Almighty God for his blessing, and in the midst of this cloud of witnesses, we have begun the work.

¹ As nearly every one of the Colonies was founded on the bank of a river, it is not clear which is alluded to here. Edward Everett, whose edition of the orations appeared while Webster was still living, mentions the settlement of the Maryland Colony on the St. Mary's River. "The 'Ark' and the 'Dove,'" he says, "are remembered with scarcely less interest by the descendants of the sister Colony than is the 'Mayflower' in New England, which thirteen years earlier, at the same season of the year, bore thither the Pilgrim Fathers."

² Mr. Webster was at that time president of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, having been appointed to that position as the successor of Gov. John Brooks, the first president.

³ Besides the laying of the corner stone with Masonic ceremonies, there was prayer by the Rev. Joseph Thaxter, and an ode was read by the Rev. John Pierpont of Boston.

We trust it will be prosecuted, and that, springing from a broad foundation, rising high in massive solidity and unadorned grandeur, it may remain as long as Heaven permits the works of man to last, a fit emblem, both of the events in memory of which it is raised, and of the gratitude of those who have reared it.

¶ We know, indeed, that the record of illustrious actions is most safely deposited in the universal remembrance of mankind. We know that if we could cause this structure to ascend, not only till it reached the skies, but till it pierced them, its broad surfaces could still contain but part of that which, in an age of knowledge, hath already been spread over the earth, and which history charges itself with making known to all future times. We know that no inscription on entablatures less broad than the earth itself can carry information of the events we commemorate where it has not already gone; and that no structure which shall not outlive the duration of letters and knowledge among men can prolong the memorial. But our object is, by this edifice, to show our own deep sense of the value and importance of the achievements of our ancestors, and, by presenting this work of gratitude to the eye, to keep alive similar sentiments, and to foster a constant regard for the principles of the Revolution. Human beings are composed not of reason only, but of imagination also, and sentiment; and that is neither wasted nor misapplied which is appropriated to the purpose of giving right direction to sentiments, and opening proper springs of feeling in the heart. Let it not be supposed that our object is to perpetuate national hostility, or even to cherish a mere military spirit. It is higher, purer, nobler. We consecrate our work to the spirit of national independence, and we wish that the light of peace may rest upon it forever. We rear a memorial of our conviction of that unmeasured benefit which has been conferred on our own land, and of the happy influences which have been produced, by the same events, on the general interests of mankind. We come, as Americans, to mark a spot which must forever be dear to us and our posterity. We wish that whosoever, in all coming time,

shall turn his eye hither may behold that the place is not undistinguished where the first great battle of the Revolution was fought. We wish that this structure may proclaim the magnitude and importance of that event to every class and every age. We wish that infancy may learn the purpose of its erection from maternal lips, and that weary and withered age may behold it, and be solaced by the recollections which it suggests. We wish that labor may look up here, and be proud in the midst of its toil. We wish that in those days of disaster, which, as they come upon all nations, must be expected to come upon us also, desponding patriotism may turn its eyes hitherward, and be assured that the foundations of our national power are still strong. We wish that this column, rising towards heaven among the pointed spires of so many temples dedicated to God, may contribute also to produce in all minds a pious feeling of dependence and gratitude. We wish, finally, that the last object to the sight of him who leaves his native shore, and the first to gladden his who revisits it, may be something which shall remind him of the liberty and the glory of his country. Let it rise! let it rise till it meet the sun in his coming; let the earliest light of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit.

✧
 ✕ § We live in a most extraordinary age. ✕ Events so various and so important that they might crowd and distinguish centuries, are in our times compressed within the compass of a single life. When has it happened that history has had so much to record, in the same term of years, as since the 17th of June, 1775? Our own Revolution, which, under other circumstances, might itself have been expected to occasion a war of half a century, has been achieved, twenty-four sovereign and independent States erected, and a general government established over them, so safe, so wise, so free, so practical, that we might well wonder its establishment should have been accomplished so soon, were it not far the greater wonder that it should have been established at all. Two or three millions of people have been augmented to twelve,

the great forests of the West prostrated beneath the arm of successful industry, and the dwellers on the banks of the Ohio and the Mississippi become the fellow citizens and neighbors of those who cultivate the hills of New England.¹ We have a commerce that leaves no sea unexplored, navies which take no law from superior force, revenues adequate to all the exigencies of government, almost without taxation, and peace with all nations, founded on equal rights and mutual respect.

¶ Europe, within the same period, has been agitated by a mighty revolution which, while it has been felt in the individual condition and happiness of almost every man, has shaken to the center her political fabric, and dashed against one another thrones which had stood tranquil for ages. On this our continent, our own example has been followed, and colonies have sprung up to be nations. Unaccustomed sounds of liberty and free government have reached us from beyond the track of the sun;³ and at this moment the dominion of European power in this continent,⁴ from the place where we stand to the south pole, is annihilated forever.

¶ In the mean time, both in Europe and America, such has been the general progress of knowledge, such the improvement in legislation, in commerce, in the arts, in letters, and, above all, in liberal ideas and the general spirit of the age, that the whole world seems changed.

¹ Revise the figures of this paragraph so as to bring it down to the present time. Look up conditions of transportation in 1825. Edward Everett mentions as an interesting circumstance, the fact that the first railroad on the Western continent was built for the purpose of aiding in the erection of this monument. It was a horse railroad from Quincy to Boston, and was used for transporting the blocks of granite from the quarries.

² The French Revolution and the wars resulting from it.

³ The allusion is to the then recent establishment of republican governments in South America.

⁴ The Monroe Doctrine, enunciated by President Monroe in his message to Congress in 1823, was virtually a declaration that no European power should be permitted to secure further dominion on the American continent.

¶ Yet, notwithstanding that this is but a faint abstract of the things which have happened since the day of the battle of Bunker Hill, we are but fifty years removed from it; and we now stand here to enjoy all the blessings of our own condition, and to look abroad on the brightened prospects of the world, while we still have among us some of those who were active agents in the scenes of 1775, and who are now here, from every quarter of New England,¹ to visit once more, and under circumstances so affecting, — I had almost said so overwhelming, — this renowned theater of their courage and patriotism.

12 VENERABLE MEN, you have come down to us from a former generation. Heaven has bounteously lengthened out your lives, that you might behold this joyous day. You are now where you stood fifty years ago this very hour, with your brothers and your neighbors, shoulder to shoulder, in the strife for your country. Behold, how altered! The same heavens are indeed over your heads; the same ocean rolls at your feet: but all else how changed! You hear now no roar of hostile cannon, you see no mixed volumes of smoke and flame rising from burning Charlestown. The ground strewed with the dead and the dying; the impetuous charge; the steady and successful repulse; the loud call to repeated assault; the summoning of all that is manly to repeated resistance; a thousand bosoms freely and fearlessly bared in an instant to whatever of terror there may be in war and death, — all these you have witnessed, but you witness them no more. All is peace. The heights of yonder metropolis, its towers and roofs, — which you then saw filled with wives and children and countrymen in distress and terror, and looking with unutterable emotions for the issue of the combat, — have presented you to-day with the sight of its whole happy population come out to welcome and greet you with a universal jubilee. Yonder proud ships, by a

¹ There were nearly two hundred of them, forty of whom had been in the battle of Bunker Hill.

felicity of position appropriately lying at the foot of this mount,¹ and seeming fondly to cling around it, are not means of annoyance to you, but your country's own means of distinction and defense. All is peace; and God has granted you this sight of your country's happiness ere you slumber in the grave. He has allowed you to behold and to partake the reward of your patriotic toils; and he has allowed us, your sons and countrymen, to meet you here, and in the name of the present generation, in the name of your country, in the name of liberty, to thank you.

13 But, alas! you are not all here. Time and the sword have thinned your ranks. Prescott, Putnam, Stark, Brooks, Read, Pomeroy, Bridge, — our eyes seek for you in vain amid this broken band. You are gathered to your fathers, and live only to your country in her grateful remembrance and your own bright example. But let us not too much grieve that you have met the common fate of men. You lived at least long enough to know that your work had been nobly and successfully accomplished. You lived to see your country's independence established, and to sheathe your swords from war. On the light of Liberty you saw arise the light of Peace, like

“Another morn,
Risen on mid noon;”²

and the sky on which you closed your eyes was cloudless.

514 But ah! him, the first great martyr³ in this great cause; him, the premature victim of his own self-devoting heart; him, the head of our civil councils and the destined leader of our military bands, whom nothing brought hither but the unquenchable fire of his own spirit; him, cut off by Providence

¹ The United States Navy Yard at Charlestown is situated at the base of Bunker Hill.

² *Paradise Lost*, v. 310.

³ Gen. Joseph Warren, born in 1741, was a man of fine culture and unusual promise. He had been elected president of the Provincial Congress, and was one of the most ardent patriots of the time.

in the hour of overwhelming anxiety and thick gloom, falling ere he saw the star of his country rise, pouring out his generous blood like water before he knew whether it would fertilize a land of freedom or of bondage, — how shall I struggle with the emotions that stifle the utterance of thy name ! Our poor work may perish ; but thine shall endure. This monument may molder away ; the solid ground it rests upon may sink down to a level with the sea : but thy memory shall not fail. Wheresoever among men a heart shall be found that beats to the transports of patriotism and liberty, its aspirations shall be to claim kindred with thy spirit.

15 But the scene amidst which we stand does not permit us to confine our thoughts or our sympathies to those fearless spirits who hazarded or lost their lives on this consecrated spot. We have the happiness to rejoice here in the presence of a most worthy representation of the survivors of the whole Revolutionary army.

16 VETERANS, you are the remnant of many a well-fought field. You bring with you marks of honor from Trenton and Monmouth, from Yorktown, Camden, Bennington, and Saratoga. VETERANS OF HALF A CENTURY, when in your youthful days you put everything at hazard in your country's cause, — good as that cause was, and sanguine as youth is, — still your fondest hopes did not stretch onward to an hour like this. At a period to which you could not reasonably have expected to arrive, at a moment of national prosperity such as you could never have foreseen, you are now met here to enjoy the fellowship of old soldiers, and to receive the overflowings of a universal gratitude.

17 But your agitated countenances and your heaving breasts inform me that even this is not an unmixed joy. I perceive that a tumult of contending feelings rushes upon you. The images of the dead, as well as the persons of the living, present themselves before you. The scene overwhelms you, and I turn from it. May the Father of all mercies smile upon your declining years, and bless them ! And when you shall here have ex- 30

changed your embraces, when you shall once more have pressed the hands which have been so often extended to give succor in adversity, or grasped in the exultation of victory, then look abroad upon this lovely land which your young valor defended, and
5 mark the happiness with which it is filled ; yea, look abroad upon the whole earth, and see what a name you have contributed to give to your country, and what a praise you have added to freedom, and then rejoice in the sympathy and gratitude which beam upon your last days from the improved condition of mankind !

17
- 18* The occasion does not require of me any particular account of the battle of the 17th of June, 1775, nor any detailed narrative of the events which immediately preceded it.* These are familiarly known to all. In the progress of the great and interesting controversy, Massachusetts and the town of Boston had become
5 early and marked objects of the displeasure of the British Parliament. This had been manifested in the act for altering the government of the Province, and in that for shutting up the port of Boston.¹ Nothing sheds more honor on our early history, and nothing better shows how little the feelings and sentiments of the
6 Colonies were known or regarded in England, than the impression which these measures everywhere produced in America. It had been anticipated that, while the Colonies in general would be terrified by the severity of the punishment inflicted on Massachusetts, the other seaports would be governed by a mere spirit
5 of gain ; and that, as Boston was now cut off from all commerce, the unexpected advantage which this blow on her was calculated to confer on other towns would be greedily enjoyed. How miserably such reasoners deceived themselves ! How little they knew of the depth and the strength and the intenseness of that
6 feeling of resistance to illegal acts of power which possessed the whole American people ! Everywhere the unworthy boon was

¹ The Boston Port Bill, passed by the British Parliament in 1774, declared that port to be closed, and transferred the seat of colonial government to Salem.

rejected with scorn. The fortunate occasion was seized everywhere, to show to the whole world that the Colonies were swayed by no local interest, no partial interest, no selfish interest. The temptation to profit by the punishment of Boston was strongest to our neighbors of Salem. Yet Salem was precisely the place where this miserable proffer was spurned in a tone of the most lofty self-respect and the most indignant patriotism. "We are deeply affected," said its inhabitants, "with the sense of our public calamities; but the miseries that are now rapidly hastening on our brethren in the capital of the Province greatly excite our commiseration. By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither and to our benefit; but we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge a thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes, on the ruin of our suffering neighbors." These noble sentiments were not confined to our immediate vicinity. In that day of general affection and brotherhood, the blow given to Boston smote on every patriotic heart from one end of the country to the other. Virginia and the Carolinas, as well as Connecticut and New Hampshire, felt and proclaimed the cause to be their own. The Continental Congress, then holding its first session in Philadelphia, expressed its sympathy for the suffering inhabitants of Boston; and addresses were received from all quarters assuring them that the cause was a common one, and should be met by common efforts and common sacrifices. The Congress of Massachusetts responded to these assurances; and in an address to the Congress at Philadelphia, bearing the official signature (perhaps among the last) of the immortal Warren, notwithstanding the severity of its suffering and the magnitude of the dangers which threatened it, it was declared that this Colony "is ready at all times to spend and to be spent in the cause of America."

19 But the hour drew nigh which was to put professions to the proof, and to determine whether the authors of these mutual pledges were ready to seal them in blood. The tidings of Lex-3

ington and Concord had no sooner spread than it was universally felt that the time was at last come for action. A spirit pervaded all ranks, not transient, not boisterous, but deep, solemn, determined,

“Totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.”¹

War on their own soil and at their own doors was, indeed, a strange work to the yeomanry of New England; but their consciences were convinced of its necessity, their country called them to it, and they did not withhold themselves from the perilous trial. The ordinary occupations of life were abandoned; the plow was stayed in the unfinished furrow; wives gave up their husbands, and mothers gave up their sons, to the battles of a civil war. Death might come, in honor, on the field; it might come, in disgrace, on the scaffold: for either and for both they were prepared. The sentiment of Quincy² was full in their hearts. “Blandishments,” said that distinguished son of genius and patriotism, “will not fascinate us, nor will threats of a halter intimidate; for, under God, we are determined that wheresoever, whensoever, or howsoever we shall be called to make our exit, we will die free men.”

The 17th of June saw the four New-England Colonies³ standing here side by side to triumph or to fall together; and there was with them, from that moment to the end of the war, what I hope will remain with them forever, one cause, one country, one heart.

The battle of Bunker Hill was attended with the most impor-

¹ *Æneid*, Lib. VI. 725, William Morris's translation:—

“One soul is shed through all,
That quickeneth all the mass, and with the mighty thing is blent.”

² Josiah Quincy, Jr. (born in 1744; died at sea, 1775), was one of the most energetic opponents of British usurpation, and with Warren and James Otis exerted an early and very great influence in favor of the freedom of the American Colonies.

³ Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut.

tant effects beyond its immediate results as a military engagement. It created at once a state of open, public war. There could now be no longer a question of proceeding against individuals as guilty of treason or rebellion. That fearful crisis was past. The appeal lay to the sword; and the only question was, whether the spirit and the resources of the people would hold out till the object should be accomplished. Nor were its general consequences confined to our own country. The previous proceedings of the Colonies, their appeals, resolutions, and addresses, had made their cause known to Europe. Without boasting, we may say that in no age or country has the public cause been maintained with more force of argument, more power of illustration, or more of that persuasion which excited feeling and elevated principle can alone bestow, than the Revolutionary state papers exhibit. These papers will forever deserve to be studied, not only for the spirit which they breathe, but for the ability with which they were written.

25 To this able vindication of their cause, the Colonies had now added a practical and severe proof of their own true devotion to it, and given evidence also of the power which they could bring to its support. All now saw that, if America fell, she would not fall without a struggle. Men felt sympathy and regard, as well as surprise, when they beheld these infant states, remote, unknown, unaided, encounter the power of England, and, in the first considerable battle, leave more of their enemies dead on the field, in proportion to the number of combatants,¹ than had been recently known to fall in the wars of Europe.

23 Information of these events, circulating throughout the world, at length reached the ears of one who now hears me.² He has

¹ There were engaged in the battle about 1,500 Americans and 2,500 British. The losses of the Americans were 115 killed, 305 wounded, 30 captured: total 450. The British lost 206 killed, 828 wounded: total 1,054.

² "Among the earliest of the arrangements for the celebration of the 17th of June, 1825, was the invitation to Gen. Lafayette to be present; and he had so timed his progress through the other States as to return to Massachusetts in season for the great occasion."—EVERETT.

not forgotten the emotion which the fame of Bunker Hill and the name of Warren excited in his youthful breast.

24 SIR, we are assembled to commemorate the establishment of great public principles of liberty, and to do honor to the distinguished dead. The occasion is too severe for eulogy of the living. But, sir, your interesting relation to this country, the peculiar circumstances which surround you and surround us, call on me to express the happiness which we derive from your presence and aid in this solemn commemoration.

25 Fortunate, fortunate man!—with what measure of devotion will you not thank God for the circumstances of your extraordinary life! You are connected with both hemispheres and with two generations. Heaven saw fit to ordain that the electric spark of liberty should be conducted, through you, from the New World to the Old; and we who are now here to perform this duty of patriotism have all of us long ago received it in charge from our fathers to cherish your name and your virtues. You will account it an instance of your good fortune, sir, that you crossed the seas to visit us at a time which enables you to be present at this solemnity.¹ You now behold the field the renown of which reached you in the heart of France, and caused a thrill in your ardent bosom. You see the lines of the little redoubt thrown up by the incredible diligence of Prescott, defended to the last extremity by his lion-hearted valor, and within which the corner stone of our monument has now taken its position. You see where Warren fell, and where Parker, Gardner, McCleary, Moore, and other early patriots fell with him. Those who survived that day, and whose lives have been prolonged to the present hour, are now around you. Some of them you have known in the trying scenes of the war. Behold! they now

¹ Gen. Lafayette made a tour of the United States as the "nation's guest" in 1824-25. His name stood at the head of the subscriptions for the Bunker Hill Monument; and he wrote, "In all my travels through the country, I have made Bunker Hill my polestar."

stretch forth their feeble arms to embrace you. Behold ! they raise their trembling voices to invoke the blessing of God on you and yours forever.

96 Sir, you have assisted us in laying the foundation of this structure. You have heard us rehearse, with our feeble commendation, the names of departed patriots. Monuments and eulogy belong to the dead.¹ We give them this day to Warren and his associates. On other occasions they have been given to your more immediate companions in arms, to Washington, to Greene, to Gates, to Sullivan, and to Lincoln. We have become reluctant to grant these, our highest and last honors, further. We would gladly hold them yet back from the little remnant of that immortal band. *Serus in cælum redeas.*² Illustrious as are your merits, yet far, oh, very far distant be the day³ when any inscription shall bear your name, or any tongue pronounce its eulogy !

27 ~~VI~~ The leading reflection to which this occasion seems to invite us respects the great changes which have happened in the fifty years since the battle of Bunker Hill was fought. And it peculiarly marks the character of the present age, that, in looking at these changes and in estimating their effect on our condition, we are obliged to consider, not what has been done in our own country only, but in others also. In these interesting times, while nations are making separate and individual advances in improvement, they make, too, a common progress, like vessels on a common tide, propelled by the gales at different rates, according to their several structure and management, but all moved forward by one mighty current, strong enough to bear onward whatever does not sink beneath it.

1 "The thrilling eloquence of the address to the old soldiers of Bunker Hill, and of the apostrophe to Warren, and the superb reservation of eulogy with which he spoke of and to Gen. Lafayette, were perhaps unequalled, surely never surpassed, by Webster on any other occasion."—TICKNOR: *Life of Webster*, ii. p. 252.

2 "Late into heaven may you return."—HORACE, I. ii. 45.

3 Lafayette died May 20, 1834.

18 A chief distinction of the present day is a community of opinions and knowledge amongst men in different nations, existing in a degree heretofore unknown. † Knowledge has in our time triumphed, and is triumphing, over distance, over difference of
5 languages, over diversity of habits, over prejudice, and over bigotry. The civilized and Christian world is fast learning the great lesson, that difference of nation does not imply necessary hostility, and that all contact need not be war. The whole world is becoming a common field for intellect to act in. Energy of
10 mind, genius, power, wheresoever it exists, may speak out in any tongue, and the *world* will hear it. A great chord of sentiment and feeling runs through two continents, and vibrates over both. Every breeze wafts intelligence from country to country; every wave rolls it; all give it forth, and all in turn receive it.
15 There is a vast commerce of ideas; there are marts and exchanges for intellectual discoveries, and a wonderful fellowship of those individual intelligences which make up the mind and opinion of the age. Mind is the great lever of all things; human thought is the process by which human ends are ultimately
20 answered; and the diffusion of knowledge, so astonishing in the last half century, has rendered innumerable minds, variously gifted by nature, competent to be competitors or fellow workers on the theater of intellectual operation.
24 From these causes, important improvements have taken place
5 in the personal condition of individuals. † Generally speaking, mankind are not only better fed and better clothed, but they are able also to enjoy more leisure; they possess more refinement and more self-respect. A superior tone of education, manners, and habits, prevails. This remark, most true in its application to
10 our own country, is also partly true when applied elsewhere. It is proved by the vastly augmented consumption of those articles of manufacture and of commerce which contribute to the comforts and the decencies of life,—an augmentation which has far
15 outrun the progress of population. And while the unexampled and almost incredible use of machinery would seem to supply the

place of labor, labor still finds its occupation and its reward, so wisely has Providence adjusted men's wants and desires to their condition and their capacity.

30 Any adequate survey, however, of the progress made during the last half century in the polite and the mechanic arts, in machinery and manufactures, in commerce and agriculture, in letters and in science, would require volumes. I must abstain wholly from these subjects, and turn for a moment to the contemplation of what has been done on the great question of politics and government. This is the master topic of the age, and during the whole fifty years it has intensely occupied the thoughts of men. The nature of civil government, its ends and uses, have been canvassed and investigated, ancient opinions attacked and defended, new ideas recommended and resisted, by whatever power the mind of man could bring to the controversy. From the closet and the public halls, the debate has been transferred to the field; and the world has been shaken by wars of unexampled magnitude and the greatest variety of fortune. A day of peace has at length succeeded; and, now that the strife has subsided and the smoke cleared away, we may begin to see what has actually been done permanently changing the state and condition of human society. And, without dwelling on particular circumstances, it is most apparent, that, from the before-mentioned causes of augmented knowledge and improved individual condition, a real, substantial, and important change has taken place, and is taking place, highly favorable, on the whole, to human liberty and human happiness. X

31 The great wheel of political revolution began to move in America. Here its rotation was guarded, regular, and safe. Transferred to the other continent, from unfortunate but natural causes, it received an irregular and violent impulse; it whirled along with a fearful celerity, till at length, like the chariot wheels in the races of antiquity, it took fire from the rapidity of its own motion, and blazed onward, spreading conflagration and terror around.¹

¹ Alluding to the French Revolution (1793) and the Reign of Terror.

32 We learn from the result of this experiment how fortunate was our own condition, and how admirably the character of our people was calculated for setting the great example of popular governments. ✕ The possession of power did not turn the heads of the American people, for they had long been in the habit of exercising a great degree of self-control. ✕ Although the paramount authority of the parent state existed over them, yet a large field of legislation had always been open to our colonial assemblies. They were accustomed to representative bodies and the forms of free government; they understood the doctrine of the division of power among different branches, and the necessity of checks on each. The character of our countrymen, moreover, was sober, moral, and religious, and there was little in the change to shock their feelings of justice and humanity, or even to disturb an honest prejudice. We had no domestic throne to overturn, no privileged orders to cast down, no violent changes of property to encounter. In the American Revolution, no man sought or wished for more than to defend and enjoy his own. None hoped for plunder or for spoil. Rapacity was unknown to it; the ax was not among the instruments of its accomplishment; and we all know that it could not have lived a single day under any well-founded imputation of possessing a tendency adverse to the Christian religion.

33 It need not surprise us, that, under circumstances less auspicious, political revolutions elsewhere, even when well intended, have terminated differently. It is, indeed, a great achievement, it is the master work of the world, to establish governments entirely popular on lasting foundations; nor is it easy, indeed, to introduce the popular principle at all into governments to which it has been altogether a stranger. It cannot be doubted, however, that Europe has come out of the contest, in which she has been so long engaged, with greatly superior knowledge, and, in many respects, in a highly improved condition. Whatever benefit has been acquired is likely to be retained, for it consists mainly in the acquisition of more enlightened ideas. ✕ And although king-

doms and provinces may be wrested from the hands that hold them, in the same manner they were obtained; although ordinary and vulgar power may, in human affairs, be lost as it has been won; yet it is the glorious prerogative of the empire of knowledge, that what it gains it never loses. On the contrary, it increases by the multiple of its own power; all its ends become means; all its attainments, helps to new conquests. Its whole abundant harvest is but so much seed wheat, and nothing has limited, and nothing can limit, the amount of ultimate product.

34 Under the influence of this rapidly increasing knowledge, the people have begun, in all forms of government, to think and to reason on affairs of state. Regarding government as an institution for the public good, they demand a knowledge of its operations and a participation in its exercise. A call for the representative system wherever it is not enjoyed, and where there is already intelligence enough to estimate its value, is perseveringly made. Where men may speak out, they demand it; where the bayonet is at their throats, they pray for it.

35 When Louis XIV.¹ said, "I am the state," he expressed the essence of the doctrine of unlimited power. By the rules of that system, the people are disconnected from the state: they are its subjects; it is their lord. These ideas, founded in the love of power, and long supported by the excess and the abuse of it, are yielding, in our age, to other opinions; and the civilized world seems at last to be proceeding to the conviction of that fundamental and manifest truth, that the powers of government are but a trust, and that they cannot be lawfully exercised but for the good of the community. As knowledge is more and more extended, this conviction becomes more and more general. Knowledge, in truth, is the great sun in the firmament. Life and power are scattered with all its beams. The prayer of the Grecian champion when enveloped in unnatural clouds and darkness is the appropriate political supplication for the people of every country not yet blessed with free institutions:

¹ Louis XIV., King of France, 1643-1715.

"Dispel this cloud, the light of heaven restore,
Give me TO SEE,—and Ajax asks no more." ¹

36 We may hope that the growing influence of enlightened sentiment will promote the permanent peace of the world. Wars to maintain family alliances, to uphold or to cast down dynasties, and to regulate successions to thrones, which have occupied so much room in the history of modern times, if not less likely to happen at all, will be less likely to become general and involve many nations, as the great principle shall be more and more established, that the interest of the world is peace, and its first great statute, that every nation possesses the power of establishing a government for itself. But public opinion has attained, also, an influence over governments which do not admit the popular principle into their organization. A necessary respect for the judgment of the world operates, in some measure, as a control over the most unlimited forms of authority. It is owing, perhaps, to this truth, that the interesting struggle of the Greeks ² has been suffered to go on so long without a direct interference, either to wrest that country from its present masters, or to execute the system of pacification by force, and with united strength lay the neck of Christian and civilized Greek at the foot of the barbarian Turk. Let us thank God that we live in an age when something has influence besides the bayonet, and when the sternest authority does not venture to encounter the scorching power of public reproach. Any attempt of the kind I have mentioned should be met by one universal burst of indignation; the air of the civilized world ought to be made too warm to be comfortably breathed by any one who would hazard it.

37 It is, indeed, a touching reflection, that while, in the fullness of our country's happiness, we rear this monument to her honor, we

¹ Iliad, XVII. 729, Pope's translation.

² The Greek Revolution, against Turkish oppression and for the freedom of Greece, was then in progress. It had begun in 1820, and was terminated, with the success of the patriots, in 1829.

look for instruction in our undertaking to a country which is now in fearful contest, not for works of art or memorials of glory, but for her own existence. Let her be assured that she is not forgotten in the world, that her efforts are applauded, and that constant prayers ascend for her success. And let us cherish a confident hope for her final triumph. ~~✗~~If the true spark of religious and civil liberty be kindled, it will burn. ~~✗~~ Human agency cannot extinguish it. Like the earth's central fire, it may be smothered for a time; the ocean may overwhelm it; mountains may press it down; but its inherent and unconquerable force will heave both the ocean and the land, and at some time or other, in some place or other, the volcano will break out, and flame up to heaven.

38 Among the great events of the half century we must reckon, certainly, the revolution of South America; ~~✗~~ and we are not likely to overrate the importance of that revolution, either to the people of the country itself or to the rest of the world. The late Spanish colonies, now independent states, under circumstances less favorable, doubtless, than attended our own Revolution, have yet successfully commenced their national existence. They have accomplished the great object of establishing their independence; they are known and acknowledged in the world: and although in regard to their systems of government, their sentiments on religious toleration, and their provisions for public instruction, they may have yet much to learn, it must be admitted that they have risen to the condition of settled and established states more rapidly than could have been reasonably anticipated. They already furnish an exhilarating example of the difference between free governments and despotic misrule. Their commerce, at this moment, creates a new activity in all the great marts of the world. They show themselves able, by an exchange of commodities, to bear a useful part in the intercourse of nations.

¹ The revolution of the South American colonies was at that time an event of but recent occurrence. It began in 1810, and ended in 1824, when Bolivia, the last of the Spanish colonies, was acknowledged independent.

39 A new spirit of enterprise and industry begins to prevail; all the great interests of society receive a salutary impulse; and the progress of information not only testifies to an improved condition, but itself constitutes the highest and most essential improvement.

40 When the battle of Bunker Hill was fought, the existence of South America was scarcely felt in the civilized world. The thirteen little Colonies of North America habitually called themselves the "Continent." Borne down by colonial subjugation, monopoly, and bigotry, these vast regions of the South were hardly visible above the horizon. But in our day there has been, as it were, a new creation. The southern hemisphere emerges from the sea. Its lofty mountains begin to lift themselves into the light of heaven; its broad and fertile plains stretch out in beauty to the eye of civilized man; and at the mighty bidding of the voice of political liberty the waters of darkness retire.

41 And now let us indulge an honest exultation in the conviction of the benefit which the example of our country has produced, and is likely to produce, on human freedom and human happiness. Let us endeavor to comprehend in all its magnitude, and to feel in all its importance, the part assigned to us in the great drama of human affairs. We are placed at the head of the system of representative and popular governments. Thus far our example shows that such governments are compatible, not only with respectability and power, but with repose, with peace, with security of personal rights, with good laws, and a just administration.

42 We are not propagandists. Wherever other systems are preferred, either as being thought better in themselves, or as better suited to existing condition, we leave the preference to be enjoyed. Our history hitherto proves, however, that the popular form is practicable, and that with wisdom and knowledge men may govern themselves; and the duty incumbent on us is to

preserve the consistency of this cheering example, and take care that nothing may weaken its authority with the world. If, in our case, the representative system ultimately fail, popular governments must be pronounced impossible. No combination of circumstances more favorable to the experiment can ever be expected to occur. The last hopes of mankind, therefore, rest with us; and if it should be proclaimed that our example had become an argument against the experiment, the knell of popular liberty would be sounded throughout the earth. +

43 These are excitements to duty, but they are not suggestions of doubt. Our history and our condition, all that is gone before us, and all that surrounds us, authorize the belief that popular governments, though subject to occasional variations, in form perhaps not always for the better, may yet, in their general character, be as durable and permanent as other systems. We know, indeed, that in our country any other is impossible. The *principle* of free governments adheres to the American soil. It is bedded in it, immovable as its mountains.

44 And let the sacred obligations which have devolved on this generation and on us sink deep into our hearts. Those who established our liberty and our government are daily dropping from among us. The great trust now descends to new hands. Let us apply ourselves to that which is presented to us as our appropriate object. We can win no laurels in a war for independence. Earlier and worthier hands have gathered them all. 24 Nor are there places for us by the side of Solon¹ and Alfred² and other founders of states. Our fathers have filled them. But there remains to us a great duty of defense and preservation; and there is opened to us, also, a noble pursuit to which the spirit of the times strongly invites us. Our proper business 30

¹ Solon, the most famous of the lawgivers of ancient Greece (born about 638 B.C.), established a new code of laws for Athens.

² King Alfred the Great, of England (849-901), reduced the Anglo-Saxon laws to a system, and made great improvements in the administration of justice. He is sometimes regarded as the founder of the English monarchy.

is improvement. ✕Let our age be the age of improvement.✕ In a day of peace, let us advance the arts of peace and the works of peace. Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its institutions, promote all its great interests, and see whether we also, in our day and generation, may not perform something worthy to be remembered. Let us cultivate a true spirit of union and harmony. In pursuing the great objects which our condition points out to us, let us act under a settled conviction and an habitual feeling, that these twenty-four States are one country. Let our conceptions be enlarged to the circle of our duties. Let us extend our ideas over the whole of the vast field in which we are called to act. Let our object be, OUR COUNTRY, OUR WHOLE COUNTRY, AND NOTHING BUT OUR COUNTRY. And, by the blessing of God, may that country itself become a vast and splendid monument, not of oppression and terror, but of Wisdom, of Peace, and of Liberty, upon which the world may gaze with admiration forever !

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.

In order that the study of these classics may help the pupil to reconstruct the historic period which each represents, it is important to give due attention to their contemporary history,—to the various movements foreshadowed or prophesied, and to the comparison of present day conditions and problems with those so vividly stated by Washington and Webster. A few typical questions are given below which will be readily supplemented by any teacher familiar with American history and with current events.

Perhaps more valuable even than any information is the responsive thrill that Webster's magnificent oratory will awaken. No pupil should go through the class without memorizing a favorite section and reciting it before the class. No mere discussion can take the place of spirited rendering of this splendid oration by both teachers and pupils.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

Page 12. Why did Washington reconsider his intention of resigning the Presidency at the end of his first term?

Page 15. What confirmation of Washington's idea of union as necessary to the welfare of the nation do you find in Webster's First Bunker Hill Oration?

What did Webster say a third of a century later in his great speech, The Reply to Hayne, concerning the dependence of each part of the country upon every other part?

What was the extent of our country in 1796?

Page 16. Washington spoke of the Atlantic coast as the only outlet for Western products. How have these conditions changed?

What do you think Washington's views would have been as to the political crisis of 1861?

Why was the Constitution of the United States superior to the Articles of Confederation?

Page 19. What relation do these views hold to the trusts and monopolies of the present day?

What amendments to the Constitution are being most persistently urged to-day?

How may the Constitution be amended?

Page 20. As a matter of fact, what has been the general tendency of the Amendments?

Page 21. Compare Washington's views on party government with those of Edmund Burke, who says: "A party is a body of men joined together for the purpose of protecting by their joint endeavor the national interest upon some particular principle upon which they are all agreed."

How have changes in conditions made party government seem now inevitable and right?

Page 22. What striking example is there in our history of the rise of a party to represent a moral sentiment?

Page 23. Have we been slow to amend and change the Constitution? Of the 1,742 amendments offered, how many have been adopted?

Page 24. What is the present condition of our national debt?

Give some evidence that we have regarded as "an object of primary importance" the promotion of "institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge" (ll. 14, 15).

Page 25. In the course of the last century we have inserted provisions for arbitration in more than one hundred treaties. What advice of Washington's have we followed in so doing?

"Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations," said Jefferson, "entangling alliances with none."

How was our foreign policy changed by the Spanish war?

Page 25. "Good faith and justice," etc. (l. 8).—In the circular letter to the Powers regarding affairs in China after the Boxer Rebellion, Secretary Hay stated that our Government regarded the situation in China as one of anarchy, rather than of war to be met with war on our part—that we should ask a solution which might "bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire.

"This unequivocal announcement of wise, humane, and unselfish policy cleared the atmosphere wonderfully. It quickened the international conscience, and made the opposite policy of revenge and partition seem mean and unworthy. It gave us in the Concert a position of moral ascendancy which we maintained to the very end." "The Settlement with China," *The Forum*, Vol. XXXII.

In 1908 the United States refunded over \$10,500,000 of the indemnity payable by China for damages during the Boxer uprising.

Page 26. Do you think that the Spanish war was precipitated by "the nation's ill-will and resentment" (l. 3), or by disinterested motives for the welfare of fellow men? Give arguments.

Page 27. What relation has the Hague Treaty to Washington's views on nonintervention in European controversies?

Did Washington say anything in his Address which we might interpret as either for or against a colonial policy, or imperialism?

Page 29. What were the three leading policies which Washington wished to urge upon the acceptance of the nation?

WEBSTER'S FIRST BUNKER HILL ORATION.

Page 20. Read *The Port of Ships*, by Joaquin Miller.

Page 21. Why should Webster speak of the American Revolution as "the wonder and blessing of the world" (l. 6)?

What essential differences were there between the American Revolution and the French Revolution?

Page 23. Compare the extent and population of the United States in 1825 and to-day.

Page 24. What other republics in South America have since been formed?

Page 26. Give some account of the character and life of General Joseph Warren.

Page 32. What part did Lafayette take in our struggle for independence?

Page 34. What agencies unheard of in Webster's time have contributed still more to the rapid interchange of ideas between the nations?

Page 40. Discuss the change of government in Hawaii and in Cuba in relation to Webster's remarks concerning the universal demand for a representative system of government.

Page 41. Does the "principle of free government" apply to our policy in the Philippines?

Page 42. Have Webster's ideas of national unification been carried out?

What can you say of our present system of interstate commerce?

Webster hoped for the breaking down of commercial barriers between the states, and the establishment of commercial highways. Has this hope been realized?

Prove that we have demonstrated to the world not only the possibility but the efficacy of a popular government.

Read aloud the last paragraph of Webster's Oration. What sentence in it seems to be the keynote of the whole Oration?

WHAT OTHERS HAVE SAID.

WASHINGTON.

"All the great qualities of disposition and action, which so eminently fitted him for the service of his fellow men, were founded on the basis of a pure Christian morality, and derived their source, strength and energy from that vital source. He was great as he was good; he was great because he was good."

EDWARD EVERETT.

"A character of virtues so happily tempered by one another and so wholly unalloyed with any vices as that of Washington, is hardly to be found on the pages of history."

CHARLES JAMES FOX.

"The value of Washington to his country transcends that of any other man to any land."

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

"Washington is to my mind the purest figure in history."

W. E. GLADSTONE.

"Washington, though in some ways an even greater man than Lincoln, did not have Lincoln's wonderful gift of expression—that gift which makes certain speeches of the rail-splitter from Illinois read like the inspired utterances of the great Hebrew seers and prophets. But he had all of Lincoln's sound common sense, far-sightedness, and devotion to a lofty ideal. Like Lincoln he sought after the noblest objects, and like Lincoln he sought after them by thoroughly practical methods. These two greatest Americans are fairly to be called the best among the great men of the world. Each showed in actual practice his capacity to secure under our system the priceless union of individual liberty with governmental strength. Each was as free from the vices of the tyrant as from the vices of the demagogue."

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

"To-day, nearly a century from Washington's death, we turn reverently to study the leading principles of that comprehensive chart for the guidance of the people. It was his unflinching, immovable devotion to these perceptions of duty which more than anything else made him what he was, and contributed so directly to make us what we are. Following the precepts of Washington, we cannot err. The wise lessons in government which he left us it will be profitable to heed. He seems to have grasped all possible conditions and pointed the way safely to meet them. He has established danger signals all along the pathway of the nation's march. . . . His wisdom and foresight have been confirmed and vindicated after more than a century of experience."

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

WEBSTER.

"Mr. Webster had a natural ascendancy of aspect and carriage which distinguished him over all his contemporaries. His countenance, his figure, and his manners were all in so grand a style, that he was without any effort, as superior to his most eminent rivals as they were to the humblest."

R. W. EMERSON.

"His speech had strength, force and dignity; his composition was clear, rational, and strengthened by a powerful imagination—in his great orations 'the lightning of passion running along the iron links of argument.' The one lesson they teach to the youth of America is self-respect, a manly consciousness of power, expressed simply and directly—to look for the substantial qualities of the thing, and utter them distinctly as they are felt intensely. This was the sum of the art which Webster used in his orations."

E. A. DUYCKINCK.

"In the First Bunker Hill Oration Mr. Webster touched his highest point in the difficult task of commemorative oratory. In that field he not only stands unrivaled, but no one has approached him. The innumerable productions of this class by other men, many of a high degree of excellence, are forgotten, while those of Webster form part

of the education of every American schoolboy, are widely read, and have entered into the literature and thought of the country."

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

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